



Syn. 8. 50. 13

A letter written

by Cuthbert Tunstall late

Bishop of Duresme, and John

Stokesley sometime Bishop of London,

sente unto Reginalde Pole,

Cardinall, then beyng at

Rome, and late bishop

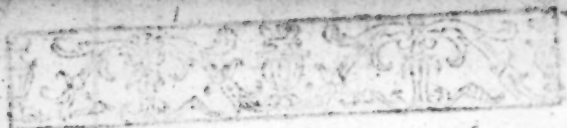
of Canterbury.

Robert Have



G^x-14-37-5





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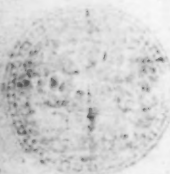
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A letter written by Cutbert Tun-
stall, late Bishop of Duresme, and Iohn
Stokesley, sometime Byshop of Lon-
don, so acknowledged and confessed by
the said Cutbert, about 14 daies before
his departure out of this his naturall
lyfe, in presence of the moste Reuerende
father in God M A T T H E W Arche-
byshop of Canterbury and others, whi-
che letter was sent by the same two
Byshops, to Reginalde Pole Cardinall,
being then at Rome, and of late Arche-
byshop of Canterburye.

 **E**ither the good will that
wee haue borne vnto
you in times paste, as
longe as you conty-
nued the kynges true
Subiecte, we can not a little
lament and mourne, that ye nei-
ther regardinge the inestimable
kyndenes of the kynges highnes
heretofore shewed vnto youe in
your bynging vyppre, nor the ho-
noure

At.ii.

honoure of the house that ye be
come of, nor the wealth of the
Countrey that ye be borne in,
should so decline from your due-
tye to your pryncce, that ye shulde
be seduced by fayre woozdes and
bayne promyses of the Byschop
of Rome, to winde to him: going
about by al meanes to him possi-
ble, to pull downe and put vnder
foote, your naturall Prynce and
Master, to the destruction of the
Countrey y haue brought you by.
And for a bayne glozy of a redde
hat, to make your selfe an instru-
mente to sette forth his malice,
who hath styrred by all meanes
that he coude, all such Christian
Prynces as woulde giue eares
vnto hym, to depose the Kynges
higheenes from his kyngedome:
and to offer it as a praye to them
that shoulde execute his malice,
and

& to stirre, if he coulde, his Subiectes against him in styringe & noysshynge rebellyons in his realme, wher the office and due-tye of all good Christian menne, & namely of vs that be Priestes, shoulde be to bring al commocion to tranquplytye, all trouble to quyetnes, al discorde to concord, and in doing the contrarpe, wee shewe oure selues to be but the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ, who ordeined all vs that be priestes, to vse in al places the legacion of peace, and not of dyscorde. But syns that can not bee vndone that is done, second it is to make amendes and to folow the doing of the prodigall sonne, spoken of in the gospels: who retourned home to his father, and was well accepted, as no doubt ye myght be, if ye will saye as he

Luke. 15.

A.iii. sayd

said in knowledging your folly, &
do as he did, in retourning home
again from youre wanderyng
abzode in seruice of them, who
litle care what come of you, so y^e
their purpose by you be seruede.
And if you be moued by your cō-
science, that you cannot take the
king oure master as Supream
heade of y^e Church of Englande,
because the Byshoppe of Rome
hath heretofore many yeares v-
surped that name vniuersallye
ouer all the Churche, vnder pre-
tence of the gospel of Matthew,
sainge: Tūc Petrus, & super hanc
petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam:
Thou arte Peter, and vpon thys
rocke I wil bulde my Churche.
Surelye that texte, many of the
moste holy and auncient exposi-
tours, wholly do take to be ment
of the faith then fyrste confessed
by

Mat. 18.

by the mouth of Peter, vpon why
 che faith, confessing Christe to be
 the sonne of God, the Church is
 builded, Christ being the veri lo-
 west foundation stone, where vpon
 bothe the Apostles them selues, &
 also the whole faith of y^e Church
 of Christe, by them preached tho-
 rowe the worlde, is founded and
 buylded, and other foundation
 none canne be, but that onely, as
 Saint Paule saith: Fundamen-
 tum aliud. &c. No other founda- 1. Cor. 3.
 tion can any man laye, besydes y^e
 whiche is Christe Iesus. And
 where ye thynke that the gospell
 of Luke proueth the same au-
 thoritie of the Byshop of Rome,
 saying: Rogauit pro te Petre, ut non
 deficiat fides tua: & tu aliquando, cō- Luke. 22.
 uersus, confirma fratres tuos. Peter,
 I haue praide for thee, that thy
 fayth shoulde not fayle: and thou
 being

being ones conuerted, confirme
thy bzothers. Surely that spea-
keth of the falle of Peter, knowe
to Chzist by his godly prescience,
wherof he gaue him an ynkeling
that after the time of his falle, he
should not dispayze, but returne
agayne & confirme his bzethzen,
as he euer, being most feruent of
them, was wont to do. The place
doth plainely open it selfe that it
can not be otherwise taken, but
this to bee the very meaninge of
it, & not to be spokē but to Peter.
For els his successors must fyrst
fayle in the fayth, and then con-
uerte, and so confirme their bz-
ethzen. And whereas ye thynke
that thys place of the gospell of
John, Pasce oues meas, feede my
shepe, was spoken onely to Pe-
ter, whiche woozdes make hym
sheperde ouer all, and aboue all:

Sainte

S. Peter him selfe testifieth the
contrary in his Canonical epistle,
where hee saith to all priestes:

Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Chri-
sti, fede the flocke of Christ which
is amonge you, which he bad the
do by the auctoritie that Christ
had put them in, as foloweth, Et
cum apparuerit princeps pastorum,
percipietis immarcessibilem eterne
glorie coronam, And whē þ chiefe
Shepperde shal appeare, ye shal
receiue the incorruptible croune
of eternall glozy. The same like-
wise Saint Paule in the Actes
testifieth, saying: Attendite vobis

1. Petri. 5.

Act. 20.

& vniuerso gregi, in quo vos posuit
spiritus sanctus, regere Ecclesiam
Dei, Geue heede to your selfe & to
the whole flocke, wherein þ holy
ghoste hath set you to gouerne
the Church of God. Where in
the ozygynall texte, the wooorde

A. b.

signifying

signifyinge Regere, to gouerne,
~~signifyinge~~ the same worde that was
spoken to Peter, Pasce, fede, for it
signifieth bothe in the scripture.
And that by these woordes hee
was not made & constitute She-
perde ouer all, it is very playne
by the facte of Sainte Peter, whi-
che durst not enterprise much cō-
uersation amongst the Gentiles,
but eschewed it as a thynge vn-
lawefull, and muche rather pro-
hibitede then commaunded by
Codes lawe, vntyll he was ad-
monished by the reuelacion of
the shepe full of dyuers viandes,
mentioned in the Actes of the
Apostles, wher if Christe by these
wordes, Pasce oues meas, fede my
shepe, had geuen such an vniuer-
sall gouernaunce to Peter, then
Peter beinge more feruent then
other of the Apostles, to execute
Christes

Chriftes cōmaundement, would
of his owne corage haue gone w
out any fuch newe admonicion,
to Cornelius: excepte peraduen-
ture you woulde faye, that Peter
dyd not vnderftande the fayde
woordes of Chrift, for lacke of
the lyght which thefe latter men
haue obtained to perceaue, and
thereby vnderftand the wordes
of Chrift to Peter, better then
Peter hymfelfe dyd. And ftraunge
alfo it wer to condemne Peter,
as an highe traitor of his Ma-
fter, after his Afcention (as
he in dede were worthe) if hys
Mafter had fignified vnto hym
that the Bifhopes of Rome, by
his dying ther, fhold be headdes
of all the Churche, and he kno-
wing by thefe wordes, Paſce oues
meas, fede my ſhepe, not with-
ftāding his maſters high legacie
and

and commaundement, yet woulde
 flee, as he dyd from Rome, vntill
 his master encountering him by
 the way with terrible woordes,
 caused him to retourne. And be-
 cause this histoꝛie perauenture
 might not waghe against an ob-
 stinate mynde to the contrarpe,
 what shall we say to the woordes
 of Sainte Ambrose, declaringe &
 affirming as greate & as ample
 pꝛymacie to Paule, as to Peter,
 vpon these woordes of Paule
 Qui operatus est Petro. &c. he that
 wrought for Peter. &c. Thus he
 writeth, Petrum solum nominat, &
 sibi comparat, quia primatum ipse
 acceperat ad fundandam ecclesiam: se
 quoque pari modo electum ut pri-
 matum habeat in fundandis Eccle-
 sijs Gentium. Et paucis interiectis,
 Ab hijs itaq; (videlicet Apostolis) qui
 inter ceteros clariores erant probas-
 tum

Reginald Pole, Cardinall.

cum dicit Paulus donum quod accepit à Deo, vt dignus esset habere primatum gentium, sicut habebat Petrus in prædicatione circumcisionis. Et sicut dat Petro socios viros egregios inter Apostolos, ita sibi iungit Barnabā, qui diuino iudicio ei adiunctus est: gratiam tamen primatus sibi soli vindicat concessam à Deo, sicut & soli Petro concessa est inter Apostolos, dederuntq; sibi inuicem dexteras. &c. Et Paulo post. Quis auderet (inquit Ambrosius) primo Apostolo resistere, nisi alius talis, qui fiducia electionis sue sciens se non imparem, constanter improbarer quod ille sine consilio fecerat: **Whiche may thus be englyshed: He nameth Peter onely, and compareth him to himselfe, for he receyued a prymacie to builde a Church, and that he in lyke sorte was chosen to haue a prymacy in building the Churches**

ches of the Gentiles. And shortly after it followeth, Of the Apostles he sayeth, his gyfte was allowed whiche he had receiued of God, that he mighte be founde worthe to haue the primacie in preaching to y^e Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to y^e Jews. And as he assigned to Peter for his companions, whiche were y^e chosen men amongst the Apostles; euen so also doth he take to him selfe Barnabas, who was ioyned vnto him by Godes iudgment, yet did he chalenge still to him selfe alone the prerogatyue of primacie whiche God hadde graunted him, as to Peter alone was it graunted among other of the Apostles. So that the Apostles of y^e circumcisiō gaue their handes to the Apostles of y^e Gentiles, to declare their concord in
 felowshipe

felowshipe, that either of theym
 shoulde knowe that thei had re-
 ceined the perfection of the spi-
 rite in the preachinge of the gos-
 pel, and so shoulde not nede either
 other in any matter. And shortly
 after, who shoulde dare resiste
 Peter the chiefe Apostle, but an
 other suche a one, whiche by the
 confidence of his election myght
 know him selfe to be no lesse, and
 so myght reprove boldelye that
 thyng which he inconsiderately
 had done. &c. This equalitie of
 dignitie of Paule, whiche S.
 Ambrose affirmeth by Scrip-
 ture to be equally committed to
 Peter and Paule, S. Cypriane
 and Sainte Jerome do extende
 to all the Apostles. Cyprian say-
 ing thus: Hoc erant vtique & ceteri
 ri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari
 confortio pradi, & honoris & po-

De simpli-
 citate cle-
 ricorum.

testatis

Contra Ios
minianum.

testatis. Undoubtedly, al the reste
of the Apostles were the same y
Peter was, endowed with lyke
equalitie of honoure and power.
And Sainte Jerome thus: Cun-
cti Apostoli clauis regni celorum
accipiunt, & ex equo super eos Eccle-
sia fortitudo fundatur. All the A-
postles receiued the keyes of the
kyngedome of heauen, and vpon
them as indifferently & equallye
is the strength of the Church
grounded and establyshed. whi-
che Sainte Jerome also aswell
in his commentaries vpon the
Epistle to Tite, as in his Epistle
to Euagrius, sheweth that these
primacies longe after Chrystes
ascention, were made by the De-
uise of men, where befoze, Com-
muni clericorum consilio, singula
Ecclesie regebantur, etiam Patriar-
chales: By the commune agree-
mente

ment of the clergy euerye of the
churches wer gouerned, yea the
Patriarchal churches The woꝝ
des of S. Jerome be these. Sci- *Cap. 1. sua*
ant ergo episcopi se magis ex consu- *per. Titū.*
etudine quā dispensationis dñis
cæ veritate, presbyteris esse maiores:
Let the Byshops vnderstande,
that they be greater then other
priestes, rather of custome, then
by the vertue and veritie of the
Lords ordinaunce. And in his
epistle to Euagrius he hath lyke
sentence, and addeth therevnto:
Vbicūq; fuerit episcopus, siue Rome
siue Eugubij, siue Cōstātinopoli. &c.
Wheresoener a Byshop be, ether
at Rome, oz at Eugubin, oz at
Constantinople, &c. he is of all
one woꝝthines, and of all one
priesthode. And that one was
elected whiche shold be preferred
befoze other, it was deuyled to
B.i. the

the redzeffe of scismes, lest any
 one chalenging to much to them
 selfe, should rente the church of
 Christe. These wordes onely of
 saint Ierome, be sufficiente to
 proue that Christe by none of
 these thre textes (whiche be all
 that you and others do alledge
 for your opinion) gaue to Peter
 anye suche superiozitie, as the
 Byshop of Rome by them vsur-
 peth. And that Peter noz no o-
 ther of the chiefe Apostles dyd
 vëdicatēe suche primacie or su-
 periozitie, but vtterly refused it.
 And therefore gaue prehemi-
 nence aboue them selues to one,
 that though he bee sometymes
 called an Apostle, yet he was
 none of the. xii. as Eusebius in
 the beginning of his second boke
 called *Historia ecclesiastica*, dothe
 testifie alledging for him y great
 and

& auncient clerke Clementem A-
 lexandrinum saying thus. Petrus,
 Iacobus ac Iohannes post assumptio-
 nem saluatoris; quamuis ab ipso fue-
 rant omnibus penē prelati, ramen nō
 sibi vendicarunt gloriam, sed Iaco-
 bum qui dicebatur Iustus, Aposto-
 lorum Episcopum statuunt: Peter,
 James & John, after Christus
 ascencion into heauen, although
 they were by him preferred well
 nye befoze all other, yet they cha-
 lenged not that glozpe to them-
 selse, but decreed that James,
 who was called Iustus, shoulde
 be chiefe byshop of the Apostles.
 By these wordes it is cleare, that
 James was the byshop of y^e A-
 postles, not becaule, as some men
 do glose, he was elected by y^e Apo-
 stles, but becaule he had thereby
 primacy & honoz of a byshop in Je-
 rusalē, aboue y^e rest of y^e apostles.

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also marueled at, that the Bysshoppes of Rome do challenge this primacie alonely by Peter, and yet Sainct Paule whiche was his equal, oz rather superiour by scripture in his Apostolate amongst the Gentiles, whereof Rome was the principall, suffred at Rome where Peter dyd, & is commonly in all the church Rome, toynd with Peter, in all appellacions and tytles of preheminence: And bothe be called Principes Apostolorū, The chiefe of the Apostles. Upon bothe is equally founded the church of Rome, the accountinge of byshops of Rome, many yeares agreeth thereunto. For

Lib. 3. cap. 31. Eusebius sayeth, that Clemens tertius, post Paulum & Petrum, pontificatum tenebar: That Clement was

was the thyrde byshop after S.
 Paule and Peter : Reconyng
 them bothe as byshops of Rome,
 And yet therein preferringe S.
 Paule . with lyke wordes say-
 inge of Alexander byshoppe of
 Rome, that Quinta successione post
 Petrum atq; Paulum, plebis guber-
 nacula sortitus est : Alexander ob-
 teyned the gouernaunce of the
 people by succession, the first by-
 shop after Peter & Paule, Irene-
 us also, as Eusebius reciteth, that *Lib. 5. cap.*
 Fundata & edificata Ecclesia beati 6.
 Apostoli, Lino officium episcopa-
 tus iniungunt . After the churche
 was ones founded and buylded,
 they charged Linus with the of-
 fice of the Byshopricke of the ho-
 ly apostle . Whereby appeareth,
 that they bothe ioyntly constitu-
 ted him Bishop of Rome, and re-
 ceiued only their Apostleship en-
 B.iii. ioyned

toynd vnto them by Christ. And
 therfore yf the byshops of Rome
 challenge anye preheminance of
 auctoritie by Peter, they should
 aswell, or rather by Paule, be-
 cause they bothe founded it, and
 bothe there preached, and bothe
 there suffered: Resigning fyrste
 that byshopricke to Linus, and
 all at ones. And yf ye wyll per-
 aduetur leane to the former pre-
 aching there by Peter, which by
 scripture can not be proued, yet
 then at the least saint Paule and
 his successours in Epheso, should
 haue lyke primaciether, be cause
 he founded fyrste that churche,
 thoughe Saint John after that
 dyd buylde it: as witnesseth Eu-
 lebius, saying: Ecclesia quæ est a-
 pud Ephesum, à Paulo quidem fun-
 data est, à Iohanne verò ædificata:
 The churche whiche is at Ephe-
 sus

cus, in dede was founded of Paul,
 but it was buylded of S. John.
 And so Peter shuld haue no other
 primaci in Rome, but as Paule
 had in Epheso, that is to saye : to
 be counted as the first preachers
 and couerteres of the people there
 to the fayth of Christ. And as wel
 might al þ Byshops of Ephesus,
 challēge the primacie of al naci-
 ons, bothe Gentiles & Jewes by
 S. Paule Apostolum Gentium,
 their founder, as the Byshop of
 Rome by S. Peter, Apostolū tan-
 tum circumcisionis, in case he were
 the first founder, chalenging pri-
 macie ouer all. But vndoubtedly
 this primacie ouer all þ the By-
 shops of Rome of late do chalēg,
 was not allowed nor yet knowē
 nor heard of amōges þ auncient
 fathers, though they had þ chur-
 che of Rome in high estimation.

Lib. 4. ca.
23.

aswell for the notable vertuous
 dedes, that the clergie there dyd
 shewe and exercyse abundantly
 to their neyghbours, as witnes-
 seth the sayd Eusebius, alleginge
 there the epistle that Dionysius
 Alexandrinus wrote to So-
 ther Bishop of Rome, testifyinge
 the same : As for that citey of
 Rome as the moste ample and
 chiefe Citie of all the world, wit-
 nessing saine Cypriane, saying:
 Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine su-
 a debeat Carthaginem Roma præ-
 cedere, illic maiora & grauiora com-
 misit : Certenly, because that
 Rome ought for her greatnes ex-
 cell Carthage, therefore there he
 committed the greater and moze
 greuous offences which S. Cy-
 priane also when he had done
 certeine actes, yea and made cer-
 teyne Determinacions and statu-
 tes

tes vnto the Byshop of Rome, he
 did not submit them to his refoz=
 macion, oz iudgement, but onely
 sygnified his owne sentences, to
 lyke him also. And yet addynge
 thereunto, that yf any Byshops,
 meaninge aswell of Rome as of
 others which wer of the contra=
 ry opinions to him, would other=
 wyse thinke oz doe, he would not
 then hys sentences shoulde be to
 them pzeiudiciall oz compulsozy,
 but to follow their owne wyttes
 & customes, Tum quod vnusquisq;
 episcoporu habeat sui arbitrij liber=
 tatem, tum quod vnusquisq; preposi=
 tus rationē sui actus sit domino red=
 diturus : Partely for y euey one
 of the Byshopes hath libertie of
 his owne will: & partely for that
 euey gouernoure shall make an
 accompte to God of his owne
 dede, as it appeareth plainly in
 B. b. his

his Epistle to Stephanus and
 Julianus. And in the thirde E-
 pistle to Cornelius, towards the
 ende, speaking of the refuge that
 one Felicissimus a Nouatiā after
 his condēnacion in Affrica made
 to Rome, he impugneth such ap-
 peales, saying: that, Quia singulis
 pastoribus porcio gregis esta scripta,
 quam regat vnusquisq; & gubernat,
 rationem sui actus domino redditur-
 rus, statutum est ab omnibus nobis,
 æquumq; pariter ac iustum cēsemus,
 vt vnius cuiusq; causa illic audiatur,
 vbi est crimen admissum. For as-
 much as euery pastour hath hys
 flocke by porcion committed to
 him, whiche euery one oughte to
 rule and gouerne, and must geue
 accompt to the Lorde of his ad-
 ministracion, it is decreed of vs
 all, and we thinke it bothe mete
 and iuste, that euery mans cause
 shal be heard.

& pley, should ther be heard, wher
 y crime is comitted. This holy &
 excellēt clerke & martyr s. Cypri-
 ane, would neuer haue either im-
 pugned their refuges to Rome,
 frō their owne pꝛimates, or so ob-
 stinately holden & mainteined his
 determinacions in the councelles
 of Affrike, cōtrary to y opinions
 of y Byshop of Rome, & to their
 customes, wout any submissiō by
 word or wꝛiting, yf y pꝛimacyo-
 ner al (which y byshops of Rome
 do chalenge & vsurpe) had bene
 grounded vpon y plaine scriptures,
 as you w some others do thinke.
 And it is to be supposed also, y he
 wold in al his epistles to thē, haue
 called thē Patres or dños, Fathers
 or lordes as superiours, & not al-
 waies Fratres & collegas, brothers
 & fellowes in office, as but his
 fellowes; which yet moze plainly
 dothe

Epistola
16.2.

doth appeare by the Actes of the
Councelles of Aphzycke in S.
Augustines tyme, by the whyche
it is euidente, that though the
fayth of Chzist, was by the Ro-
maines fyrste broughte into A-
phzyke, as S. Augustine dothe
confesse, yet it was not redde nor
knownen, that the Bishops of
Rome bled or challenged any ex-
ercise of soueraignie in Aphzyke
vnto this tyme. And yet then he
did not chalenge it Iure diuino,
but Pretextu definitionis cuiusdam
canonis in cōcilio Niceno: That is,
by the right of goddes word, but
by the pretence of a certeyne ca-
non suppoled to be in the counsel
of Nice. whiche article coulde
neuer be founde, though it were
then very diligently soughte for
throughe all the principall chur-
ches of the East and Southe:
But

But onely alleadged of Julius *Vide duas*
byshop of Rome, out of his owne *Epistolas*
librarye. And you maye be well *ad bonifacium. pp.*
assured, that if these in scriptures *1. ot. cons*
had made for it, neither the by- *ciliorum.*
shop of Rome woulde haue leste *Fol. 307.*
that certaine pzofo by scriptures, *308.*
and trusted onely to the testimo-
ny of an article of that counsell
doubted on vnlikely to be foude.
Noz yet Saint Augustine with *Dist. 16.*
his holy and learned companye, *Viginti.*
woulde haue resysted this de-
maunde, yf it had bene eyther
grounded vpon Scriptures oz
determined in that oz other
counsell, oz yet had stande with
equitie, good ozdze oz reason.
Howe be it, the largenes & mag-
nificence of buyldinges of that
Citey, and aunciente excellencie
and superiozite of the same, in
tempozall dominions, was the
onely

only cause that in the Councils;
 (where the Patriarchall seas
 were sette in order) the Bpshop
 of Rome was lotted in the first
 place, and not in anye suche con-
 stitucion made by Chryste, as
 appeareth wel by that, that Con-
 stantinople, beyng at that time
 of this orderinge of the Patriar-
 chall seas, by the Emperours
 mosse amplye enlarged, beyng
 befoze a small towne, and of no
 renowne, and by thein mosste
 magnificentlye buylded, and ad-
 uanced worldly with all tytles,
 Prerogatiues and Priuileges
 temporall lyke vnto Rome, and
 therfoze called Noua Roma, New
 Rome, was therfoze aduanced
 also to the seconde sea and place.
 Antiochia in the East, where
 Saincte Peter fyrste tooke the
 chayze befoze he came to Rome,

and chrissten men had there firste
theyr name geuen theym . yea,
and Ierusalem, whyche was
the fyrste mother cytie of oure
saythe, and where Chyriste him-
selfe fyrste founded the saythe,
reieted with Alexandria, to the
thirde, fourthe, and fyfte pla-
ces, because at that tyme they
were not in so hyghe estimation
in the world, though in the faith
of Chyriste all they were auncien-
tes, and some of theim mothers
to Rome.

Trueth it is, that the By- *Hist. tript.*
shoppes of the Oriente, for de- *Lib. 4.*
bates in matters of the saythe, *cap. 16.*
amonges theim selues made su-
tes to the Byshop of Rome, but
that was not for the Superiorti-
tie of iurisdiction vpon them, but
because thei wer gretly deuided.

And

And those countreies aswell By-
shops as others muche infected
with the Heresies of the Arri-
ans, whereof the waste was in a
maner clere. And amonge the O-
rientes none were counted indis-
ferente to decyde those matters,
but where all suspecte of affectio
on for one cause or other: where-
fore they desired the opinions of
the Bishops of the west, as indis-
ferent, vntangled with affectiōs
of any of those partes, and incor-
rupted with any of the Arrians,
as appeareth by the Epistles of
S. Basill written in all their
names for the saide purpose. In
the whiche also it is especiallve
to be noted, that their sute was
not to the byshoppe of Rome sin-
gularly, or by name: but as the
tytles do shewe, to the whole
congregation of byshopes of I-
taly,

Italye and Fraunce, or of the whole west, and sometyme preferring the French byshops saying, Gallis & Italis, and neuer naming the Romanes. And for a cleare p[ro]ofe that the aunciente fathers knewe not this p[ri]macie of one aboue al, we nede none other testimonie, but their determination in the councell of Nice, that Alexandria & Antiochia, & vniuersally all other p[ri]mates, shoulde haue the whole gouernance of their consynte countreyes, lyke wise as the byshope of Rome had of his Suburbicane. And this determination p[ro]oueth also, that your three Scriptures mente nothing lesse, then thys p[ri]macie ouer all. For god forbid that we shoulde suspect that counsell as ignozant of those playne Scriptures, to the whiche syth

C. i. that

þ time all Chzistendom hath lea-
ned, as þ anker of our faith. And
if you like to reade þ auncient ec-
clesiastical hystories, there youe
may se, that Athanasius & other
patriarkes did execute þ prima-
cie, as in making, consecrating &
ordering of churches, Bysshops &
clerkes in their countries east &
south, as þ byshops of Rome in þ
time did in þ west & north. And if
ye would yet any thing obiecte a-
gainst ani of these witnes, thē for
to eschue cōtenciō, & for a final cō-
clusiō, let þ byshop of Rome stāde
to his owne confessiō made many
yeres paste by his predecesoure
Agatho, to thempereoure Constā-
tine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, in
his epistle wryten to them in his
name, & in þ name of all the Sy-
nodes whiche he thought to be
vnder þ sea Apostolique, wherin
sone

some after y^e beginning of the epistle, he cōprehendeth them al vnder y^e name of the byshops dwelling in the north & west partes of their empire. So that ther in his owne epistle, he confesseth al his subiectes oz obediēciaries, to be only of y^e north & west: & so appeareth euēdētly by his owne confession, y^e neither by godes lawe nor māns law he had to do wth any person of y^e east oz y^e southe. And this his high souerainty ouer al chalēged, as you & others say, by scripture, as bi his own cōfessiō quayed & brought to a litle & straight angle. And this Agatho, was not a man vnlearned, as appeareth by y^e actes of y^e vi. synode Constantinopolitane in y^e iiii. acte, wherin is writē at large, & expressed y^e said epistle & confessiō. And afore the primacye of Peter, whiche

Apoca. 21.

auncient doctozs speake of, that was onely in preaching & teaching the saythe of Chziste, whiche he firste amonge all the Apostles, and first of all mortal men, dyd expresse wyth his mouth. That primacie did so adhere to his owne person, that it was neuer deriued nether to any Successour, noz to other Apostle, but chiefly to him selfe: for all other professing after the same, speake it after him, who had professed it before. Moreouer all the Apostles, as S. Ihon saith, be fundamentes in the heauenly Jerusalem; & not Peter onely. Moreouer Cyprian affirmeth, as is afore sayd, that al y Apostles were of equall dignitie & power. whiche al auncient authozs likewise do affirme. For Chziste gaue the Apostles like power in y gospel saying:

saying: Ite, docete omnes Gentes, Mat. 28.
baptizantes eos. &c. So and teache
all nations, baptizinge them. &c.
And S. Paule as is said before,
knewe no other primacie geuen
to Peter to preache in any place,
but amonge the Jewes, as hee
him self had among the Gētiles:
as he wryteth to the Galathiās,
where S. Ambrose, as is afore
said, affirmeth y same. And that
the mother of all churches is Je-
rusalem, as afore is sayde, & not
Rome, y scripture is plaine, both
in the prophete Esay: De Sion exi Esā. 2.
bit lex, & verbum Domini de Ierusa-
lem: Oute of Sion shal the lame
procede, & the worde of the Lord
out of Ierusalem. Upon y which
place S. Jerome sayeth, In Hie-
rusalem primum fundata ecclesia,
totius orbis ecclesias seminavit: Out
of the church first founde in Je-
C. iiii. rusalem

rusalem, spronge all other churches of y whole world. And also in the gospel, which Chziste before his ascension commaunded his Apostles to preache ouer all the world, beginning first at Jerusalem: So that the byshops of Rome vniuersal power by him claimed ouer all, can not by anye scripture be iustified, as yf ye haue redde the auncient fathers expositions of the sayde scriptures, as we suppose you haue syth your letters sente hither concerning this matter, and wold geue more credence to their humble and playne speaking, then to the latter contencious and ambiciuous wziters of that hyghe, and aboue the Ideas of Plato hys subtiltie (whiche passeth as ye wzite) the lawyers lerninge and capacitie: We dout not, but that
ye

ye perceiue and thinke the same.
And where ye thinke that the
kyng can not bee taken as su-
preme heade of the church, be-
cause he can not exercise the chief
office of the church in preaching
and ministring of the sacramen-
tes, it is not requisite in euery bo-
dy naturall, that the heade shall
exercyse ether al maner of offices
of the body, or the chiefe office of
the same. For albeit the heade is
the highest and chiefe member of
the naturall body, yet the Distri-
bucion of life to al the mēbers of
the body, as wel to the heade as to
other members, cometh from the
hearte, and is minister of lyfe to
the whole body as the chief acte
of the body. This similitude yet
hath not his full place in a mysti-
cal body, although the scripture
speaking of kyng Saule, saith:

Smile

1. Reg. 15.

Cum esses paruulus in oculis tuis,
constituite caput in tribubus Israël:
~~When thou wert but of smale re-~~
putation in thine owne eies, I
made the head amongst the try-
bes of Israell. And if a kinge
amongst the Jewes, were Caput
in tribubus Israël: hoc est hominum
videntium Deum per vmbra, tem-
pore legis, multo magis princeps
Christianus caput est in tribubus Is-
raël, hoc est vere per fidem videntiū
Christum, qui est finis legis. The
heade in þ tribes of Israell: that
is of men whiche see God by a
shadowe in the tyme of the lawe,
muche more is a chzistian kinge
heade in the tribes of spirituall
Israell, that is: of suche whiche
by true sayeth see Chzyst which
is the ende of the lawe. The of-
fice deputed to the Byshops in
the mystical body, is to be as viers
to

to the whole bodye, as almightye
God saith to the prophete Eze-
chiel: Speculatorem te dedi Domui Eze. 3.
Israel. I haue made the an ouer
seer ouer the house of Israel.
And what by hope so euer refu-
seth to vse the office of an eye in
the mysticall body, to shewe vnto
the bodye the righte waye of ly-
uinge, whiche appertayneth to
the spirituall eye to do, shall shew
him selfe to be a blynde eye: and
if he shall take other office in
hande then appertayneth to the
righte eye, shall make a confusi-
on in the bodye, takynge vpon
him an other office, then is geuen
to him of God. Wherefore if the
eye wyll take vpon hym the office
of the whole heade, yt maye bee
answered vnto yt, It canne not
so do, for it lacketh brayne. And
examples sheweth lykewyse,
that

that it is not necessarie alwaies
 that the heade shoulde haue the
 facultie or chiefe office of admi-
 nistration, youe may see in a Na-
 uye by sea, where the Admyrall,
Simil who is captayne ouer all, doth
 not medle with stering or go-
 uerninge of euery Shyp, but e-
 uery Mayster particular muste
 directe the Shype, to passe the
 Sea in breaking the waues, by
 his sterynge and gouernaunce,
 whiche the Admirall the heade
 of al, dothe not him selfe, nor yet
 hathe the facultie to doe, but cō-
 maundeth the Maysters of the
 Shipe to do it. And likewise ma-
 ny a captayne of greate Armies,
 whiche is not able, nor neuer
 coulde peraduenture shoote or
 breake a speare by his owne
 strength, yet by his wisdom and
 commaundement onely, he atchi-
 ueth

nieth the warres, and attayneth
the victoꝛye. And wher ye thinke
that vnitie standeth not onely in
the agreing in one faith and doc-
trine of the Church, but also in
agreing in one heade: if ye meane
the very and onely heade ouer al
the Church oure Sauoure
Chriſte : Quem pater dedit caput
super omnem Ecclesiam, quę est cor-
pus eius : Whome the father hath
ſet ouer all the Church, whiche
is his bodye, wherein all goode
chriſtiane men do agree, ye ſaye
trueth. And if ye meane of any
one mortal man to be heade ouer
al þ Church, & þ to be the byſhop
of Rome, we do not agree w you.
For you do there erre in the true
vnderſtāding of ſcripture, oz els
ye muſt ſay, þ the ſaid counsell of
Nice & other moſt aſciēt did erre,
which diuided the adminiſtratiō
of

of churches, the Orient from the
Occident, and the Southe from
the North, as is befoze expres-
ed. And that Chziste the vni-
uersall heade, is presente in eue-
ry church, the gospell sheweth

Mat. 18.

Vbi duo vel tres congregati fue-
rint in nomine meo, ego in medio e-
orum sum: Where two or thre
bee gathered together in my
name, there I am in the myddes
of theim. And in an other place:

Mat. 28.

Ecce ego vobiscum sum, vsq; ad con-
summationem seculi: Beholde, I
am wyth you, vntyll the ende of
the worlde. By whiche it maye
appeare Chziste the vniuersall
heade euerye where, to be wyth
his mysticall bodye the Church:
who by his spirit worketh in all
places, (howe farre so euer they
be distaunte) the vnitie and con-
corde of the same. And as for

any

anye other one vniuersall heade
to be ouer all, then Chyriste hym
selfe, scripture proueth not, as it
is shewed befoze. And yet of a
further p[ro]fesse, to take awaye the
scruples, that peraduenture do
to youre apperaunce ryle of cer-
tayne wordes in some aunciente
Authours, and especially in S.
Cyrianes epistles, as the vnitie
of the churche stode in the vnitie
with the byshop of Rome, though
thei neuer cal him sup[re]me head,
yf you p[re]aslye weyghe, and con-
ferre all their sayinges together,
ye shal perceyue that they nether
spake noz ment other thinge, but
when the byshop of Rome was
ones lawfully elected and intro-
nizate, yf then anye other would
by faction, myght, force, oz other-
wyse, (the other liuyng and do-
yng his office,) enterpryse to
put

put him down, & vsurpe the same
by Hopricke, or exercise y^e others
office him selfe. As Nouatianus
did attempt in the time of Corne
lius, that then the sayde fathers,
reconed them good catholikes y^e
did cōmunicate with hym y^e was
so lawfullye elected, and the cu
stome was one primacie to haue
a doo one with an other, by con
gratulatorie letters, sone after y^e
certentee of they^r election was
knownen to kepe the vnitie of the
church. And they y^e did take part
or mainteine that other vsurper,
to be scismaticques, because that
vsurper was a Scismaticke, for
that, *Quia non sit fas in eadem ec
clesia, duos simul esse episcopos, nec
priorem legitimū ep̄m sine sua cul
pa deponi*: That it is not lawfull
for two byshops to be at ones to
gether in one church. Nor that
the

the former byshop being lawfull,
ought to be deposed gyltlesse, w-
out his fault be proued. And this
is not a prerogative of Rome
churche, moze then of any other
cathedral, speciall, patriarchall,
or metropolitall church, as appe-
reth in the.iii. epistle of the fyrste
booke, and in the eyght of the se-
conde, and of the fourthe booke
of Saincte Cypriane to Corne-
lius. Whose wordes and rea-
sons, al that peraduenture might
seme to conclude the vnitie of the
church in the vnitie of y byshop
of Rome, because they were all
wryten to him in hys owne case,
maye aswell be wryten to and of
any other byshop lesfully chosen
& possessed, who percase shuld be
lykened to be disturbed by any facti-
ons of ambitious heretikes, as
the byshops of Rome then were.
And

And where ye thinke the name
of Supream head vnder Christ
geuen, attributed to the Kinges
maiestie, maketh an innouation
in the Church, and perturbation
of the ordze of the same: it canne
not be any Innouation oz trou-
ble to the Church, to vse the
roume that God hath called him
to, whiche good Christian Pryn-
ces dyd vse in the begynninge
when saythe was moste pure, as
Saint Augustine ad Glorium
& Eleusium sayeth, Ait enim qui-
dam: Non debuit Episcopus pro cō-
sulati iudicio purgari: quasi uerō ip-
se sibi hoc comparauerit, ac non Im-
perator ita quærit iusserit, ad cuius cu-
ram de qua rationem Deo redditu-
rus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat
One there is whiche sayeth, that
a Bishop ought not to haile bene-
put to his purgacion before the
iudge.

August.
epist. 162.

iudgemente seate of þ deputye, as
thoughe he him self pzocured it,
and not rather the Emperour
him selfe caused this inquirye to
be made, to whose iurisdiction,
(foz the whiche he must answere
to God) that cause did especially
pertaine. Chzysostome wziteth of
that Imperiall authoritie thus:

Lesus est qui non habet parem ullū
super terram, summitas & caput est
omnium hominum super terram.

He is offēded that hath no peere
at al vpon the earth, foz he is the
highest potentate, and the heade
of all men vpon earth. And Ter-
tullianus ad Scapulam sayth: Colis

mus ergo & imperatorem sic, quo
modo & nobis licet, & ipsi expe-
dit, vt hominem à deo secundum; &
quicquid est à deo consequitum sō
lo deo minorē, hoc enim & ipse vo-
let; sic enim omnibus maior est,

D.i.

dum

dum solo verò Deo minor est. Idem
 in Apologetico de Imperatoribus
 capite. 30. loquens ait: Sciunt qui il-
 lis dederit imperium, sciunt qui ho-
 mines, qui & animas sentiunt, eum
 Deum esse solum, in cuius solius po-
 testate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post
 quem primante omnes, & super
 omnes Deos. **We so honoure**
and reuerence the emperoure in
suche wyse, as is lawefull to vs
and expedient to him, that is to
saye: as a man nexte and the se-
cond to god, of whome is deriued
al the power he hathe, but yet in-
ferioure to god alone, for so is yt
his pleasure to haue it. For thus
is he greater then all men, while
he is inferioure but to God al-
onely. And the saide Tertullia-
nus in his booke Apologeticall
speaking of Emperoures: They
know who hathe geuen to them
theyz

they: gouernemente, they knowe
 what men they be them selfe,
 and vnderstandinge they haue
 of mans soules, but so that they
 perceane that God is hee alone,
 vnder whose ouely power they
 bee; and take them selfe as
 seconde to God, after whome
 they bee the chiefe before other,
 and aboue all the goddes: Theop
 phylactus ad Romanos super il
 lud: Omnis anima potestatibus sub

limioribus subdita sit, Ait. A postolū Rom. 13,
 hic vniuersos erudire, siue sacerdos
 sit ille, siue monachus, siue apostolus,
 ut se principibus subdat.

Let euery soule be subiecte to the
 hygher powers. Hoc est, Etiam si
 Apostolus sis, etiam si Euangelista,
 etiam si Propheta, aut quisquis postre
 mō fueris: Non enim subuertit pie
 tatem hec subiectio. Et non simplici
 ter, Pareat inquit, sed Subdita sit.

D.ii.

That

That is. Althoughe thou arte an
 Apostle, although an Euangelist,
 although a prophete, oz what so-
 euer thou art, be subiect, for this
 subiectiō ouerthzoweth no gods-
 lynes. And he sayth not only, let
 him obey, but let him be subiect.
 And yf þ apostles be subiecte to
 Princes, muche moze al byshops
 and patriarches, yea the byshops
 of Rome and all other. And it is

1. Par. 28.

Wzitten in the Cronycles: Dixit
 Dauid Salomoni: Ecce diuisiones sa-
 cerdotum & Leuitarum in omne
 ministerium domus domini, assistēt

2. Par. 16.

tibi, & parati erunt. Et: Dauid consti-
 tuit principem ad consitendum do-
 mino, Asaph & fratres eius. Et:

2. Par. 19.

Constituit Iosaphat in Ierusalem Le-
 uitas & sacerdotes, et principes fa-
 miliarum ex Israël, vt Iudicium &
 causam dñi, iudicarēt habitatoribus
 eius, præcepitq; eis dicens: Sic agetis

in

In timore domini, fideliter & corde
perfecto. &c. **David** saith to **Salomon**: Beholde, the priestes and
Leuites diuided in companies
to do all maner of seruice that
perteyneth to the house of **God**,
shall assiste thee and be ready.

And in the xvi. Chapter, **David** 2. Par. 16.
dyd appoynte chiefly to thanke
the **Lord**, **Asaph** and hys bre-
thren. &c. And **Iosaphat** the
kinge, did constitute **Leuites** &
priestes, and the aunciente hea-
des of **Israell**, that they shoulde
iudge the iudgemente, and the
causes of the **Lord**, towarde al
the inhabitauntes of the earth.
And he charged theim sayinge:
Thus shall ye do in the feare of y
Lord, saythfullye, and in a per-
fecte herte. Rex constituit tur-
mas sacerdotales & **Leuiticas**, vnum
quemq; in officio suo. Et sequitur, E.

Zecharias precepit populo vt darent
 partes sacerdotibus, qui dedit conse-
 quenter decimas. Et sequitur quod ad
 regem cum Azaria sacerdote perti-
 net omnis dispensatio domus dñi,
 & eorū qui ad eam attinent. Et in fi-
 ne: Fecit ergo Ezechias vniuersa que
 diximus in omni Iuda, operatusq;
 est bonum & rectum & verum corā
 domino deo suo, in vniuersa cultura
 ministerij Domus Domini, iuxta lē-
 gem & ceremonias, volens require-
 re deum suum in toto corde suo, fecit
 q; & prosperatus est. Iasias quoq; cō-
 stituit sacerdotes in officijs suis, man-
 dauitq; plurima. &c. **Furthermore,**
Ezechias did apoynt the priestes
and the Leuytes in their order to
waite by course, euery mā accor-
dunge to his office, whether priest
or Leuyte, for the burnte offe-
rynges, and peace offerpynges,
and to minister and to thanke,
 and

and to praye in the gates of the lodge of the lordz. And Ezechias gaue commaundemente to the people dwellinge in Jerusalem, that they shoulde geue their portions to the Priestes & Levites, that thei mighte attende on the lawe of the Lorde. And that by the precept of Ezechias the king, and of Azarias the byshop of the house of the Lorde, all thinges were done, to whome pertayned all the dispensacion of the house of the lord. And in the ende it is sayde. Ezechias dyd all those thinges in all Iurys, he wrought that which was good, right and true before his Lorde god, in al p furniture of the ministerie of the house of the lord, according to p lawe & cerimonies, desierous to seke his lor god wal his heart, as he dyd, and prospered therein.

Josias also did ordeyne priestes
in their offices, & commaunded
many thynges. By all whiche yt
may appeare, y^e Christian Kinges
be soueraignes ouer the prestes,
as ouer all other their subiectes,
and may commaund the priestes
to do their offices, aswel as thei
do other : And oughte by theyr
Supreame office, to see y^e all men
of all degrees do their dueties,
whereunto they be called, ether
by God, or by the kynge. And
those Kinges that so do, chiefelye
do execute well their office. So
that the kinges highnes taking
vpon him as Supreame heade
of the Church of Englande, to
see that aswell spirituall men as
temporall do their dueties, doth
nether make innouacion in the
Church, nor yet trouble the or-
dre thereof : But dothe as the
chiefe

chiefe and the best of the kynges
of Israell did, and as all goode
christiane kinges oughte to doe.
Whiche office goode Christiane
emperours alwayes toke vpon
them, in callinge the vniuersall
counseles of all Countreys in
one place, and at one tyme to
assemble, to the entent, all here-
sies troubling the church, might
be there extypped: calling and co-
maundinge aswell the byshope
of Rome, as other Patriarches
and all Primates, aswell of the
east, as of the west: of the southe
and of the northe, to come to the
saide Councelles. As Marlia-
nus thempereure did in callinge
the greate counsell of Calcedon,
one of the iiii. chiefe and firste ge-
nerall councelles, commaunding
Leo, then Byshope of Rome, to
come therto. And albeit Leo ne-
D. v. ther

Epist. 81.

ther lyked the tyme, whiche he would for a season woulde haue bene differred: noz yet the place whiche he would haue had in Italye, wher the Emperour by his owne commaundement had called it to Calchis in Asia, yet he answered the Emperoure, that he would gladly obey his commaundemente, and sente thither his agentes to appere ther for him. as doth appere in y Epistles of Leo to Martiane the Emperoure. xli. xlvii. xlviii. and in the. xlix. epistle to Pulcheria Emperesse. And lykewyse desyrez Theodosius the Emperour to comaunde a concell of Bishops to be called in Italye, for taking awaye suche contentions and troubles, as at that tyme troubled the quietnes of the churches. And in many mo epistles of the same Leo, it dothe many

manifestly appeare, that themp-
perours alwayes assembled ge-
nerall councelles by their com-
maundementes. And in the syre
Councell general it appereth ve-
ry plainely, that at that tyme the
byshops of Rome made no claim
noz bled tytyle to call theim selfe
heddes vniuersal ouer all the ca-
tholyke churche, as there dothe
appere In subscriptione seu salutati-
one synodica suggestionis antedictæ,
whiche is thus ad verbum: Pijssi-
mis dominis & sereniss. victoribus &
triumphatoribus, dilectis filiis dei &
dñi nostri Iesu Christi, Constanti-
no Magno imparatori, Heraclio &
Tiberio Augustis, Agathoe piscopus
seruus seruorum dei, cum vniuersis sy-
nodis subia cētibus cōcilis apostolice
sedis. In þ superscriptiōz saluta-
ciō of þ foresaid synodical p̄cable,
whiche is thus worde for worde:

Actiōne. 4.

To

To the moste godly Lordes and
most noble victors and conque-
rours, & welbeloued chyl dren of
god, & of our Lord Iesu Chryst:
to Constantine the great: Empe-
roure, to Cracius and Tiberius
Cesars, Byshop Agatho the ser-
uaunte of the seruauntes of god,
withall the conuocations subiect
to the counsell of the sea Aposto-
lique, sendeth greetinges. And
sayth, expressing what countreyes
he reckened and comprehended
in that superscription or saluta-
cio. It foloweth that these were
vnder his assembly, whiche were
in the North and East partes.
So that at that time the Byshop
of Rome, made no such pretence,
to bee ouer and aboue all, as hee
nowe dothe by vsurpation, ven-
dicatinge to him selfe the spiri-
tuall kyngedome of Chryste, by
whiche

whiche he raygneth in the heartes of all faythfull people , and then chaungeth it to a temporall kyngedome ouer and aboue all kynges , to depose theim for hys pleasure , preachynge thereby , Carnem pro spiritu , & terrenum regnum pro coelesti , in damnationē , nisi resipiscat suam . The fleshe for the spirit , and an earthely kingdom for an heauenly , to his owne damnacion , yf he repente not .

Where he oughte to obeie hys Prynce by the doctrine of Saint Peter , in hys fyrst epistle saying :

Subiecti estote omni humane creature , propter deum , siue regi quasi precellenti , siue ducibus tanquam ab eo missis , ad vindictam malefactorum , laudem verò bonorum : Be ye subiecte to euery mans ordinance , for the Lordes sake , whether to the kinge as to the chiefe ,
whether

Rom. 13.

whether to the dukes, as sente of him to the punishment of the euil doers, & to the praise of the good. Againe S. Paule, Omnis omnia potestantibus sublimioribus subdita sit, with other thinges befoze alleged. So that this his pretended vsurpacion to be aboue all kynges, is directly againste the scriptures, geuen to the churche by the apostles, whose doctrine, whosoouer ouerturneth, can be neither Caput, nor Infimum membrum ecclesie, wherfoze, albeit ye haue heretofore stycked to the said wrongfully vsurped power, moued thereto as ye wyte by your conscience, yet sythens now ye see further, yf ye luste regarde the mere truth, and suche auncient authours, as you haue bene wryten to of in tymes paste, we would exhort you for the wealeth
of

of your soule , to surrender into
the Byshop of Romes handes,
your red hat, bi which he seduced
you trustinge to haue of you, be-
yng come of a noble bloode , an
instrument to aduaunce his vaine
glozpe, whereof, by the sayd hat,
he made you participante , to al-
lure you thereby the moze to hys
purpose . In whiche doyng ye
shall retourne to the truth, from
whiche ye haue erred. Do youre
duety to your soueraigne Lord,
from whome ye haue Declyned.
And please thereby almyghtye
G O D , whole lawes ye haue
transgressed . And in not so do-
yng, ye shall remayne in er-
roure , offendyng bothe al-
myghtye G O D , and youre na-
turall soueraygne Lorde, whom
chiefly ye oughte to searche to
please, Whiche thinge , for the
good

A letter sent vnto

good mynde that we heretofore
haue bozne you, wee praye al-
mightie God of his infinite mer-
cy, that you do not. Amen.

FINIS.

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Edmund

